20c SEPTEMBER 29, 1952

McCARTHY AND THE MINISTERS—page 11

New Republic

NIXON'S SECRET INCOME

SEP 25 1952

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● Best reason to date for defeating Adlai Stevenson: "A sense of humor unfits a man to be President." Outstanding example: Abraham Lincoln. Witness the joke he played on the country in founding the Republican party.

Washington, D. C. IRVING BRANT

● The least we demand of your magazine is an effort towards political maturity. Are we to accept a man who, although profound and eloquent, still remains tooled by political bossism? . . . And why all these political gymnastics to defeat the great political personality of Estes Kefauver?

Are we now not qualified to choose our nominee that we must rely on the maneuvers of Jake Arvey and Harry S. Truman and the applause of the *New Republic?* . . .

Grass, Range, Mont. BILL STOCKTEN

● The idealist T.R.B. hopes Stevenson would "raise goose pimples of enthusiasm in the college professor and the inarticulate masses alike." The point is a good one, but for "alike" should be substituted "in the same proportions" (or about one percent). With what faculties and "inarticulate masses" does T.R.B. hobnob, anyhow? In any case, Stevenson can and should win. . . .

Weston, Vt. HERBERT LEADER

● . . . Lately Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles have been saying that the foreign policy of the United States can lead to nothing short of complete ruin. To paraphrase Senator Douglas—who was it who, in Europe, did his uttermost—and a very effective uttermost, too, to implement that policy? Who, indeed, but General Eisenhower! . . .

Lawrence, Kansas AGNES THOMPSON

● With the newspapers and magazines 99 percent Republican, we have to depend on the *New Republic* for a liberal interpretation of the campaign.

Seems the Republicans have another superman, who is the expert on everything under the sun and moon, according to them. Well, Generals have their place, but *it isn't* in the White House. . . .

Newburgh, N. Y. MRS. FORD GILLEO

● It is understandable that you should devote an exceptional amount of space to the Tweedledum-Tweedledee parties and their conventions. However, I think that *NR* readers might also be interested in the little publicized convention of the Socialist Labor Party, which took place in New York May 3-5. The Party, which has entered every Presidential campaign since 1892, nominated a ticket at this convention, consisting of the undersigned (Eric Hass) for President and Stephen Emery for Vice President. . . .

New York, N. Y. ERIC HASS, Editor
Weekly People

More Golden Bowling

● We would like to reply to Mr. William McFee's letter (*NR*, Sept. 8) in which he so volubly protests the $6.50 price on our new edition of *The Golden Bowl* by Henry James.

First may we correct a few of his illusions. *The Golden Bowl* is not out of copyright and will not be for several years to come. The Grove Press pays the usual author's royalty. The book was not printed from Scribner's old plates which have probably long since been destroyed. Our edition was made by photo offset, involving the making of new plates.

We do not agree with Mr. McFee's implication that sales are the sole criterion of an author's excellence. It is true, however, that Henry James is not a best seller: this means that a new edition of *The Golden Bowl* cannot be large and that the publishing cost per volume is therefore necessarily high. After the costs of plates, paper (808 pages), binding, dustjacket, and advertising, plus the bookstore discount and salesmen's commissions have been deducted, there is precious little left to the publisher from which to pay his own overhead, let alone worry about a profit. If Mr. McFee is searching for profiteering, he should turn to other fields than that of the small publisher whose principal problem is survival, not how to figure out his excess profits taxes.

Lastly, Mr. McFee infers that our edition is "a somewhat scrubby job," although he wisely looked at another book when he said this. As a matter of fact, we are proud of our Grove Press edition of *The Golden Bowl* and we feel that it is a handsome and readable volume and that it will give pleasure to the "one tenth of one-half percent of the reading public" that want to "get through that murky masterpiece." BARNEY ROSSET,

New York City President, Grove Press

Notes on a Spanish Journey

● In his "Notes on a Spanish Journey" (*NR*, August 4), Daniel Friedenberg describes Jose Antonio de Rivera as one of Spain's "two dictators." This is incorrect.

It was Primo de Rivera, the father of Jose Antonio, who was dictator of Spain from 1923 to 1930. Jose Antonio, exploiting his father's name, founded the Falange in 1933. He was executed by the Republic during the Civil War and has since become the martyr of Spanish Fascism. Entitled "The Founder" and "The Absent One," he posthumously provides inspirational support for the Franco regime. It is for this reason that his picture is said to be everywhere in company with the portrait of the present dictator.

Brooklyn, N. Y. DANIEL J. NELSON

Trade Barriers

● Our trade barriers, in the form of high tariffs, were conceived for the depressed economy of 1929 and succeeding hard times. . . . Neither self-interest nor fair play (a popular slogan where it is convenient) can justify the protective tariff in 1952. We cannot go on selling without buying, nor can Europe continue to buy without selling.

Since the war, our production has doubled, creating gigantic surpluses in some areas. Europe could not entirely consume these surpluses and they were destroyed or artificially controlled. The Republicans assert their heart belongs to the farmer, but if they propose to raise tariffs, they must be prepared to continue policies abhorrent to them.

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Too Much Honesty?

The Republican governors have stated frankly that if the party is to win this year it must be made "clear that it offers an inspiring and welcome alternative to the corruption, political favoritism and moral integrity which now exists in the national administration." – *From the Kansas City* Star.

Half Truth

"Remember, half the lies they tell about the Dodgers are not true." – *From a telegram by Walter O'Malley, President of the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team, as reported by AP.*

Next Question

Fall will be the season of daring for gloves. New York designers feel women will have to compete with politics for attention, and what better way than lifting a smartly gloved finger? – *From the Providence* Sunday Journal.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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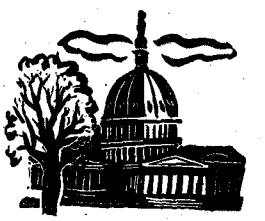
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST, N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50.

WASHINGTON WIRE

IT RATHER looks to us as though Eisenhower were going to be licked, and in a way it is too bad. There is evidence that the public would really like a change of party in Washington after 20 years, and in some respects this might be a good thing. A respectable school of thought holds that if the GOP isn't given a term of responsibility quickly it will go mad, with a case of galloping McCarthyism. This may now happen. We think Governor Stevenson is a remarkable figure—possibly one of the really great politicians of this century. But if Eisenhower is defeated, it won't be Stevenson who did it: Ike will have knocked out Ike.



Some of Stevenson's speeches have been magnificent. But the crowds have flocked to Ike, while Stevenson's crowds are disappointing. To us this indicates something pretty significant: the public by now knows the Democratic line pretty well; what it wants to see is the great war hero and whether there is actually going to be a rational, competitive political brand put on the market. It is the old story. The polls of public opinion every four years put the Republicans way out ahead at first: then the big, disappointed American audience turns away.

Of course this is all premature. If the public has really made up its mind it wants a change, nothing that Stevenson says, no matter how splendid can alter its will. But we have a premonition. Ike is an earnest, sincere man, but his speeches are still dull.

And Ike has done these things: (a) announced he would support "all" GOP candidates (no matter how bad); (b) greeted despicable Senator Jenner, the villifier of Ike's own beloved General Marshall; (c) embraced the Dulles "liberation" program for satellite countries, scaring half Europe until he lamely retreated; (d) refused to disown Joe McCarthy (who, according to Ike's adviser, Senator Carlson, will campaign for the ticket); (e) capitulated to isolationist Bob Taft; (f) picked Richard Nixon for his running-mate. There are supposed to be 15 million "independents" and more Democrats than Republicans in the electorate. Much as the public yearns for a change from Truman philistinism, it looks to us now as though Ike had pretty well knocked himself out.

We never had an easier time writing this column. All we have to do is put in what other periodicals leave out. There never was more material. The handicap of having 80 percent of the newspaper circulation on your side (as Ike does) was never more evident. Take the case of Poor Richard. The New York *Post* in a copyrighted piece from Leo Katcher, its Los Angeles correspondent, Thursday, Sept. 18, gave a full, detailed story of the $16,000 millionaires' club fund for Nixon. It created hardly any stir at first in a press 8 to 1 against the Democrats. On the 18-car Eisenhower Special, riding exultantly to lash at crime and corruption at Kansas City, Ike was not told of the story. His press secretary told the United Press correspondent, "We don't comment on any New York *Post* story." Asked by *Post* reporter Max Lerner why, the answer came, "You know that just as well as I do."

The story only became a rumor slowly on the press cars. Bundles of the Des Moines *Register* were thrown aboard, but these carried a second-hand report; later that night the Omaha *World-Herald* came aboard—the murderous story was over on page 57 with the funnies. Editorial pages, of course, support Ike although the news staff of most papers is for Adlai 3 to 1. Significantly the full impact of the Nixon revelation came to the Ike train from a

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bit of doggerel on the front page of the St. Joseph (Mo.) *News-Press* entitled, "They're Fixin' Mr. Nixon." The paper apologetically pointed out that it was for Ike but that "some one in the composing room" had turned out the item. The voice from the composing room asked how the reformers were going to clean up Washington "when millionaires are slipping them the dough?"

The secret has to be divulged that enthusiasm for ambitious young Mr. Nixon is not always at the boiling point. In an inspired comment in the Stevenson press party, George Hall of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* observed, "I wouldn't have wanted it to happen to a nicer guy." Nixon, the Subversives' Nemesis, was just finishing a whistle-stop denunciation of Washington's low ethical standards at Marysville, Cal., when some oaf yelled, "Tell them about the $16,000." Drawing himself to full height, eyes flashing and fist clenched, our man Richard told the conductor to hold the train until he had met the dastardly innuendo. The crowd cheered the noble fellow as he revealed that Communists had promised to "smear" him if he ran for the Vice-Presidency, adding dramatically, "They started it yesterday." The crowd cheered again—and next day two influential Republican papers, the New York *Herald-Tribune* and Washington *Post,* told him to withdraw. But not Ike. He hand-picked Nixon to get better personnel in Washington and now said he had full faith in his honesty. Poor Ike: he was busy knocking himself out.

Notes: Attorney General McGranery isn't missing any tricks: he has just arrested a new batch of Commies and announced that British subject Charlie Chaplin, the comedian, may be kept out of the country if he applies for readmission. . . . Everybody hopes McGranery's supply of Commies will last through the election . . . For a wonder the House Judiciary subcommittee is publicizing evidence showing the kind of pressure applied to the villified tax "bureaucrats" by individual Congressmen to aid powerful constituents. . . .

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Since the war, US buying has shifted from Europe to North and South America so that we now import European goods at one-half their pre-war volume. Europe on the other hand, is now more dependent on American produce than was the case with them before the war. They are caught in a crossfire that means either insolvency to them and disaster to us or continued—perhaps perpetual—economic aid. If protective tariffs are to continue or if they are to rise, the American taxpayer may expect a continuing or rising burden. Rather than encourage the needless paper work of economic aid, I suggest the Republican Party increase their platform by a plank which would provide for direct handouts to American industry. They may then devote their full time to combating the welfare-state.

Bronx, N. Y. ROBERT HURLEY

Fels Biography

I am undertaking a biography of the American soap manufacturer and philantropist, Joseph Fels. His untiring devotion to land-reform measures and the single-tax panacea made him a figure of public importance both in England and the United States early in the present century. I should appreciate hearing from persons knowing the whereabouts of letters, speeches, memoirs, or pamphlets pertinent to this study.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Bryn Mawr College

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Against a Military President

At his first press conference in Abilene, General Eisenhower was asked how his candidacy jibes with his earlier statements that no professional military man ought to be President. He replied that the "overriding reason" for his shift was that a sufficiently large number of people had rallied to his support.

Believing that a large number of Americans oppose a military man for President, no matter by what party he may be nominated, a group of young people got together last February at the time of the big Madison Square Garden Eisenhower rally, to form the Non-Partisan Committee Against a Military President.

Following General Eisenhower's nomination, the committee launched a vigorous campaign. I agreed to serve as secretary because it seems to me most valid and important that the issue of a military President be kept before the voters.

I think many *New Republic* readers will be interested to know of the existence of such a Committee and some may want to participate in its campaign. The Committee's headquarters are: Room 825, 119 Nassau St., New York 38, N. Y.

New York City A. J. MUSTE

Sacco-Vanzetti

Alan Furman Westin, in his praise of Francis X. Busch's *Guilty or Not Guilty* and *Prisoner at the Bar* (*NR,* August 2) makes no mention of the fact that Mr. Busch himself agrees with the verdict in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Does the *New Republic* think Sacco and Vanzetti were properly convicted and executed? This is a strange commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the legal murder of the "good shoemaker" and the "poor fish peddler!"

San Francisco, Calif. MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

[The *New Republic* still believes, as it did 25 years ago, that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. — THE EDITORS.]

A Bouquet

I am sending your 13-weeks-for-$1 trial subscription to my sister, as I want to get her interested in *New Republic.* We have taken it for years and I can hardly wait for Thursday to come as that is the day we get it. I read it from cover to cover and would never be without it. I'm often complimented on being so well informed and I give *New Republic* a big share of credit for it. I like the way you analyze things and your fairness in doing so.

Akron, Ohio MRS. WILLIAM BECK

Thanks to the Governor

Please allow me to luxuriate in your columns over the delight I am enjoying, caused by Governor Stevenson's defense of the teachers in his address to the American Legion. I am so proud now to be a member of that profession since a great Presidential candidate saw fit to discuss the plight of the teachers. . . . May I thank Governor Stevenson through your columns. And, thank you.

Woodridge, N. Y. MARTIN WOLFSON

Guilt By Association

We have a disgraceful example of a bipartisan domestic policy when we observe McCarthy-McCarran in action. All former Boy Scouts will possibly be screened if the Internal Security Committee continues to blacklist any and all organizations which may have had a sympathizer to Russian causes since 1917. It may be a good thing to let this committee supply a weekly expose of organizations once "harboring" Reds, until every one of us is under suspicion and then some domestic censure can be put on these wild men who swear that guilt-by-association is enough to condemn thousands.

Walnut Creek, Calif. TOM KENDALL

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VOLUME 127, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1974, WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 29, 1952

New Republic

SIR MORDRED

A CAMPAIGN is a struggle for political office waged according to accepted standards. A crusade is a search for ideals, directed by higher standards of its own. So, a campaign can be waged in many ways, a crusade in only one way. Either a crusade is a search without compromise for its professed ideals, or it is a mockery.

That is the self-discipline accepted by crusaders. And Eisenhower acknowledged it when he assumed that there would be "a single standard of morality in public life" for his running mate, Richard Nixon, and himself.

To the typical Republican politician no greater heresy could have been uttered. For to him the double standard is the accepted rule. His opponents are incapable of innocence, his friends of guilt. If a man is found with his hand in the till, why then, if he is a Democrat, the Democratic Party bears the collective guilt for his crime, but if he is a Republican it is all a Communist smear. Eisenhower rejected this hypocrisy. That was his strength.

Eisenhower proclaimed the single standard, and set morality in public service as his holy grail. His keynote has been his simple and appealing assertion: "We must have a clean-out from top to bottom. We have got to put people in who remember with our founding fathers that public service means public service."

That is right, and its meaning is very clear. All servants must be paid in order to live. A man who serves trade unions should be paid by trade unions, a man who serves oil profiteers should be paid by oil profiteers. *And a man who serves the public should be paid by the public alone.*

That is the only possible rule. What are the fair exceptions to the rule? The answer, as the Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards noted, is more difficult for Members of Congress than for administrators. It adds: "There are fewer traditional safeguards; temptation is more subtle; there is no higher authority and discipline is rare, even for illegalities."

Members of Congress, like Richard Nixon, have only their own consciences as guides.

One exception to the rule is campaign contributions. And because these are clearly regarded by the public as an exception and one to be guarded against, they are governed by the Corrupt Practices Act. That law seeks to limit the size of contributions, and it requires that the names of contributors be revealed.

Can a man like Nixon argue that he is perpetually campaigning (for what, and against what is of course wholly irrelevant) and therefore may receive "campaign" contributions throughout his term of office? The answer obviously is that the Corrupt Practices Act defined "campaigning" in no such terms and Nixon knew it when he failed to reveal the contributions he received.

Can Nixon even take refuge in the argument that the expenditures on Christmas cards, entertainment, hotel and travel costs on which he says he spent the $18,000 he is known to have received were legitimate "campaign" expenditures at any time? The Senate Subcommittee notes:

> Expensive gifts, lavish or frequent entertainment, paying hotel or travel costs . . . are clearly improper. . . . Anyone who thinks them proper must mave already lost his perspective.

The truth is that any expenditure by a public personality, to advance himself, is a personal expenditure. There is no essential difference between money a Senator spends on a haircut to better his appearance and money he spends on distributing a speech to better his reputation. If he receives more from private and hidden sources than he receives from the public in salary, he ceases to be responsible to those who elected him to represent them. He becomes a kept man. Nixon is a kept man.

Nixon, like Taft, and the great majority of Republican leaders who have rushed to Nixon's defense, claims that acceptance of the $18,000 was perfectly ethical because it was not conditioned on Nixon's political positions. That claim, unethical in itself, is belied by the statement of Dana Smith, the tax attorney who collected and passed on the money. "The whole idea," Smith declared, "was to enable Dick to do a selling job to the American people in behalf of private enterprise," something, he added, that Governor Warren could not do "because he has too much the social point of view."

There was nothing abstract, nothing high and mighty in the job of "selling private enterprise" in California. Selling private enterprise meant keeping open the tax loopholes on California oil profits, preventing small holdings in the Central Valley, blocking irrigation proj-

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ects in the Coachella district, and killing rent control and low-cost housing in Los Angeles. The men who contributed the $18,000 to Nixon were directly connected with these matters. And Nixon made their attitudes his own. What if this time their gifts were entirely innocent? The Fulbright Subcommittee records:

> Gifts and favors which may begin as entirely innocent practices become improper when they begin to affect the public servant's ability to act for the public as agent or representative, fairly and objectively. They are improper as subtle influences upon his point of view.
>
> If carried further they become ends in themselves, a way of increasing the public servant's income. At some point the receiver becomes venal.

No one has suggested venality on Nixon's part. But there are others in the Congress with less lofty ideals than Nixon's. If the stamp of approval is placed on his practices by his election as presiding officer of the Senate, the temptations on others become ten times greater. We will have moved a long step towards the British system in which Members of Parliament receive $2800 a year for all income and expenses and in which Conservatives are kept by banking and corporate directorships while Labourites are paid by the trade unions. In Britain political morality is high and personal wealth is almost impossible to accumulate. This system of private subsidies to public servants merely freezes the class structure into political life. In the US where the economic stakes are infinitely greater, the pressures toward corruption would become irresistible.

Nixon is a kept man. He is also a phoney. He preaches one set of values, he practices another. He takes the handout, and uses the cloak of righteousness and anti-Communism to cover it up. To know this and yet to place him within hand's reach of the White House is a risk, for as the Fulbright Subcommittee notes, when the gap opens up between belief and reality, "the individual becomes insane, and the state disintegrates."

That is the issue ultimately raised by Nixon. And coming after a long record of compromises it brings Eisenhower's crusade to the end of the road. His advisers are for Nixon, arguing that Nixon is no worse than many others. That merely confirms that their concern is with power and not the ends for which power is used. That they were of this mold was obvious. But Eisenhower set himself apart. He claimed the aura of the crusader. By the same decision he assumed the crusader's risks and responsibilities. His friends admit that if he fails to act he will have to give up in his speeches all talk of corruption. Far worse, he will have to give up in his conscience all thought of the single standard, the test that sets apart the honest man.

II.

The public pays its Senators and Congressmen $15,000 a year. In return it expects them to maintain two homes, one in the most expensive city in the nation, to entertain lavishly in both, and to travel back and forth all year round. The result is to turn the Congress into a rich man's club, or a market-place for lobbyists. All those who do not have substantial private means derived from law practices or other enterprises must devise special ways of eking out their incomes.

All the standard systems for supplementing Congressional compensation are inherently dangerous, and open to such abuses as McCarthy's acceptance of a $10,000 fee for the writing of the Lustron pamphlet actually "ghosted" for him by a federal housing employee. There are numerous instances of lawyer-Congressmen seeking government favors for clients. But the method by which Richard Nixon has added to his income as a Senator is the worst of all. The special fund he has accepted from a group of constituents with special interest in federal legislation is a political subsidy and a hidden subsidy. So it is wrong on both counts. It is futile to advocate principles unless one is prepared to carry them out.

If the principle that public servants should be paid only by the public is sound, then it follows that all Representatives and Senators should be granted at least an additional $10,000 per year in accountable expense allowances.

All members of Congress should then be required to file annually a statement of their total incomes, including amounts over and above their government salaries and the sources of this outside income. Gifts and loans which are not ordinarily counted as income should be included in these annual statements, and the statements then filed should be made accessible to the public.

President Truman recommended this second step to the Congress on September 27, 1951, and strongly urged immediate action as a remedy for the instances of graft and corruption then being exposed in the government. Congress paid no attention at all. Senator Morse, in company with Senators Douglas and Humphrey, has three times introduced such legislation, but his bill has never reached the Floor. Unless such measures are taken, there can be no assurance that the Nixon plan is not being widely copied. With such a system of full disclosure of outside income in operation, voters would have the opportunity to rule at the polls upon the propriety of gifts and contributions made to their representatives. If Nixon has nothing to hide, then he has nothing to fear.

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THE WEEK

THE CANDLE FOR SENATOR MORSE

The independent Republican from Oregon, Sen. Wayne Morse, just back from an official trip inspecting American bases overseas and cheering US Ambassador George McGhee and Sen. Russell Long (D, La.) as they swam the famed Hellespont, is having his troubles determining his course in the political swim.

While in London Morse, one of the original backers of General Eisenhower for the Presidency, cabled Ike that he would campaign vigorously for him. Unhappy over the platform, the Oregon liberal still felt that Eisenhower was a worthy candidate.

He returned to the US just in time to catch his candidate in a warm embrace with the arch-reactionary Sen. William Jenner (R, Ind.), and to hear him announce that he would support all GOP candidates. In addition to Jenner this meant such other members of the "class of 1946" as McCarthy, Cain, Bricker and Kem. This was too much for Morse. He climbed off the Eisenhower bandwagon with a strong statement that he would sit this one out. The Ike-Taft breakfast treaty reinforced his position.

Eisenhower headquarters, aware of the effect of the Morse break on the independent vote, put pressure on him to reconsider. Surprisingly, for all its significance, the General himself made no effort to contact the Senator. Instead Ralph Cake, former GOP National Committeeman from Oregon, was sent to do the convincing. To anyone who was familiar with Cake's opposition to Morse's liberalism in Oregon, the outcome was fully predictable. Morse was unmoved. Next, Harold Stassen tried. The men had a two-hour lunch together, but Stassen's brand of liberalism was not designed to convince the Oregonian and Morse turned down a plea that he accompany Eisenhower when he spoke to the AFL convention.

When Morse addressed the convention a few days later, he had some hard words to say, lambasting Taft as a "dazed quarterback" and calling Eisenhower's speech to the AFL "ill-advised" and "confusing."

Governor Stevenson has laughingly told the press that he has a lighted candle in the window for Senator Morse to lead him home to the Democratic Party. Although he remains understandably hesitant about changing party status, Senator Morse seems to be keeping his eye on that candle.

RUSSIANS AT PORT ARTHUR

The outcome of the Sino-Russian talks, for which Chou En-lai brought a large delegation of Chinese 4,000 miles across the Communist heartland, must evoke less than enthusiasm in Peking. According to that part of the agreement which has been made public, the Chinese will get back the vital Changchung Railway, held by the Russians since the war and at various other times in the last half century. The return of this vital link had been promised in the Russian-Chinese agreement of February, 1950. However, the evacuation of Russian troops from Port Arthur, also promised, was not fulfilled.

Ostensibly the maintenance of a Russian garrison at that Manchurian port was at the request of the Chinese, who explained that "conditions have arisen which are dangerous for peace and favorable for the reiteration of aggression against the Chinese." In reality Russian insistence on continuing in occupation of an undeniably Chinese port must have been a bitter pill for Chou En-lai to swallow. The keeping of troops there obviously has other meanings than purely military ones. The most likely interpretation is that the Chinese have been politely and firmly told that, sacrifices in Korea notwithstanding, they are after all only a junior partner in the combination. They seem to be taking this decision philosophically, but Port Arthur is not likely to be forgotten.

CHANGES BY THE NILE

Mohammed Naguib, Egypt's crusading Premier, is speaking to his people in the way Mossadegh has spoken to Iranians, only in his case words have been accompanied by action. King Farouk has been shipped out of the country; the more notorious of the old-guard politicians have been isolated in prison, and the parties themselves have been ordered purged of "grafters." Backed by the power of the military, and apparently supported by the majority of the people, Naguib may be a potent factor in changing the political face of the Near East.

So far, however, Naguib's reforms have been limited to the political level. He has announced a somewhat far-reaching land-reform program which would distribute all land-holdings in excess of 200 acres—approximately one-eighth of all Egypt's arable land. This measure was made public with great fanfare three weeks ago, after Naguib assumed the premiership, and although it was passed by his cabinet, has so far not been enacted. Egyptian leaders insist that their revolution is in a different category from the meaningless military *coups d'état* of the Latin American type.

Naguib's main problem is who—besides his military group—he can work with. He is seeking to purge the older leaders of established parties like the Wafd and win their younger members to his side. Externally the week's events have shown that regardless of how much Naguib wants to wipe out the bitter memories of the Palestinian defeat, he is not willing to risk a break with Egypt's unreformed allies in that conflict. The proof of this occurred during the selection of a successor to Azzam, the old-guard Egyptian who had been general secretary of the Arab League since its inception seven years ago. Because Naguib was unwilling to let the post go to a non-Egyptian for a change, the League chose another Egyptian, presumably with Naguib's blessing.

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HOUSING FOR THE LOYAL

Notice is hereby given that you will soon have to sign a loyalty oath if you seek to buy or build a private home with an FHA-insured mortgage or if you want to occupy an apartment in a privately owned building in any way financed or insured by the FHA. You will have to swear that you do not belong to an organization designated as subversive by the Attorney-General. If you do not sign, you will be unable to purchase the house or rent the apartment. And if you do sign and it is later found that you did so falsely, the threat of a perjury prosecution will hang over your head.

So said Congress in the Independent Offices Appropriations Act for the 1953 fiscal year, approved by the President last July 5. In an unnoticed and obscure portion of that statute, Congress specifically provided that "no housing unit constructed under the US Housing Act of 1937, as amended, shall be occupied by a person who is a member of an organization designated as subversive by the Attorney-General."

The background of this fantastic bit of legislative inanity is a combination of anti-Communist and anti-public-housing hysteria. It was sponsored by a Republican, Representative Gwinn of New York, long known as a bitter foe of public housing. It was obviously designed to embarrass public-housing agencies under the guise of striking a blow for super-patriotism. The original version of the rider would have cut off federal funds to any public-housing project which included among its tenants members of subversive organizations. But in the Senate-House conference the prohibition was altered so as to direct the fire on the prospective tenant or home buyer. It is there that the greatest amount of antagonism can be expected, as many private citizens will revolt against this orgy of oath-taking. And the real-estate lobby hopes that this antagonism will be centered on the public-housing authorities.

Federal officials already are working on procedures to put this prohibition into effect. The technique of the affidavit is foremost in their thoughts and only the details remain to be formulated. It is not contemplated that the prohibition will be retroactive for all occupants of the millions of dwellings rented or sold under FHA financing since 1934. But tenants in existing rental projects may be required to execute the affidavits when their leases are renewed. Evictions conceivably could follow if affidavits are not signed.

Just how the affidavits will be policed is not yet publicly known. Checking millions of names against available membership lists of the organizations labelled subversive would be monumental enough a task. Even more staggering would be the job of erecting some fair system to safeguard those erroneously and unjustly accused of falsifying their affidavits. Indeed, the very act of denying a home to a member of a "subversive" organization or evicting a law-abiding member from an apartment bristles with countless legal and constitutional issues that will long plague those responsible for the execution of this new policy.

NOT MUCH NEWS IN LOS ANGELES

All five Los Angeles daily papers, four of them supporting Eisenhower and one supporting Stevenson, played the Nixon "special fund" disclosure on the inside pages for two days until irresistible public interest forced the news onto page one.

The story received full coverage on the radio and television both from national commentators with Los Angeles outlets and Los Angeles newscasters and commentors. This helped build up pressure that the newspapers could not resist.

The Los Angeles *Times* immediately became Nixon's defender. The first story carried by the *Times* Friday, September 19, was a thinly-disguised editorial by the *Times* political editor, Kyle Palmer. "Democratic Attempts To Attach Corrupt Motives To Contribution Refuted," read the headline over Palmer's article. No mention was made that John J. Garland, one of the contributors, is a brother-in-law of Norman Chandler, publisher of the *Times*.

The *Mirror*, afternoon tabloid published by the *Times-Mirror*, carried as its first story an AP dispatch which was devoted to Nixon's defense of the fund. The headline read: "Left-wing Smear Charged By Nixon As Gift Fund Hit."

The two Hearst papers, the *Herald-Express* and the *Examiner*, carried lengthy first stories devoted to Nixon's defense. The *Herald-Express* headline read: "Nixon Hits Dem Charge As Typical Left-wing Smear." The *Examiner* head was "Veep Nominee Explains How $16,000 Used." The *Daily News*, the only Los Angeles paper supporting Stevenson, carried the initial disclosure of the fund under a one-column headline: "Nixon Tells Edson of Special Fund." The article was a friendly account of the fund. The story of an exclusive interview with Dana Smith, organizer of the purse, shared in by the *News* labor editor was killed in the front office of the paper.

After two days the story hit the front pages under big headlines.

The business interests and professional connections of the contributors were disclosed by the attorney handling the fund but the *Times* did not reveal that. Herbert Hoover Jr. for example, was not identified as the son of the former President. Finally the *Daily News* carried a front-page editorial reading in part "Merry Christmas to all and to Dick a good night." It said:

> Do you believe in Santa Claus? Well, whether you do or not we've got news for you — Vice Presidential candidate Richard does.
>
> If we were in Nixon's shoes, we would believe in Santa Claus too. When he became a Senator he hung up his political sock and lo and behold into it plopped $18,000 bucks from unknown benefactors.' What better proof would one need that there is a Santa Claus.

Los Angeles

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NATO, EDEN AND WATERLOO

MARSHAL STALIN has an even poorer opinion of the strength of military coalitions than Marshal Foch had. The Russian Vozd is reported to have told French Ambassador Joxe that he was little more than amused by the efforts of the West to build up a defensive Atlantic army made up of soldiers of many nations. He implied that such a military force would necessarily be weak.

One of Britain's greatest soldiers would have had a different opinion. As a matter of fact, the first Duke of Wellington, who died just over a century ago, was one of the spiritual fathers of SHAPE and NATO. He found solutions in his time for two problems rather like major ones of our time. By defeating Napoleon at Waterloo, an ancestor in his way of the Vozd, he put an end to the active career of military aggression of the modern world's first totalitarian leader. By successfully commanding—after having created—a great defensive army in which only one-third of the soldiers were British subjects, he established the first effective precedent for the military coalition of the Atlantic Community.

On the basis of this experience, the Iron Duke laid down the principle just before his death in September, 1852, that any nation can produce a good fighting force, and that a combination of such forces can itself be strong and dependable. He said there were not men, of whatever countries they may be and whatever may be their preceding habits, who can not, with time and perseverance, make good soldiers.

The Duke of Wellington did not deny, however, that the task of making good soldiers is easier in some countries than in others, for psychological reasons that in turn may have bases in history and geography. It is because the West is concerned not only with making good soldiers, but also with finding and using those who already exist, that Anthony Eden has visited Yugoslavia and that, almost at the same time, General Ridgway visited Turkey and Admiral Carney and Field Marshal Montgomery went to Greece.

For a long time, as a matter of fact for a period that goes back beyond the Iron Duke's lifetime, the Serbs, the Croats, the Turks and the Greeks have been famous as good fighting men. One of the purposes of Eden's visit was to pave the way for effective use of such men. For, whatever Stalin's opinions, the West is going ahead quickly with such tasks as putting the military equivalent of steel muscle into what Winston Churchill once called the soft under-belly of Europe.

One of the difficulties is political. Its name is Trieste. If the problem of the Saar can be called—as it has been in Europe—the poisoned arrow pointed at the heart of European unity, the problem of Trieste is the knife in the back of that unity. The root of the Saar problem is economic. Trieste is a different matter, almost entirely an expression of a clash of old-fashioned political sentimentalisms.

The Saar's economic tie with France will permit the French to produce this year 14 million tons of steel compared with West Germany's 15.5 millions. Without the Saar, France would produce only 11 millions compared with 18 for West Germany. The subordination of the French would create a disbalance within the European community. It is a problem which needs care and time.

As the Saarlanders speak German and are in fact German, so the majority of the inhabitants of the city of Trieste speak and are Italian. But a solution of the problem which does not give the city wholly and bodily back to the Italians has no economic significance for West Europe as a whole, comparable to a transfer of the Saar to West German sovereignty. The potential damage is to national pride of one nation, not to the unity of many nations.

The point is not favoring the Yugoslavs for the sake of using the famous Serb and Croat fighters. It is working out a compromise that will permit Italy, too, to have the military security that can be attained only by a chain of alliances that will tie up the Yugoslavs with the Greeks and the Turks. Moreover, only such a pattern can close the Ljubljana Gap. That is the great break in the Balkan mountains through which, unless it is closed, the Magyars, also famous as fighters, might pour from the great Hungarian plain, followed by Soviet and satellite troops from Eastern and Central Europe, into the Po Valley of Italy.

Eden is the first Englishman of cabinet rank to visit Marshal Tito since the war. The situation has changed in the Balkans and Middle East since Lord Louis Montbatten and Averell Harriman went to Belgrade last year. Little time remains for sulking under the tents of national pride, and the Ambassadors of the US, Britain and France have made this plain both in Belgrade and Rome. While Stalin mocks at the West, he goes seriously ahead with reinforcing the satellite armies and rejects any Austrian Treaty that might reduce the Soviet forces just north of the Ljubljana Gap.

Italian Premier de Gasperi and Defense Minister Pacciardi would be willing to compromise. There is no reason to put them under the kind of pressure Ambassador Peurifoy exerts openly in Athens in support of US and general Western policy. If the Italian Government hesitates, the reason is one American should be able to understand, especially during the Presidential campaign. A national election is to be held here in Italy next May. Any misstep on the part of the present government might conceivably bring about an unholy domestic version of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact—an alliance between the neo-Fascist MSI, the Communists and the Nenni Socialists, strong enough to defeat the Christian Democrats and the small parties which are their allies.

Nevertheless, many Italians realize that a compromise must be found.

Rome PERCY WINNER

Johnson City, Tennessee
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RICHARD NIXON'S SECRET INCOME

THREE YEARS ago, young Richard M. Nixon was happily described by the strait-laced *Saturday Evening Post* as an ambitious, hard-hitting Congressman, so conscientious that he refused to accept even a free lunch from someone who might be a lobbyist for special interests.

During the past few months, as Republican candidate for the number-two post behind military hero Dwight Eisenhower, the sincere-sounding Senator from California has blasted away mightily at corruption in government, decrying the mink coats, the deep-freeze units, and other gifts to poor and underpaid federal appointees from persons with a political axe to grind.

Last week, *Look* magazine upheld the Horatio Alger tradition of Richard Nixon's rise to prominence in an article disclosing that the GOP nominee had no outside income of his own and was just one of the millions of Americans protesting high prices and the increasing cost of living.

Now the bubble has burst.

Dick Nixon, the man riding the rumble seat on the Eisenhower white horse, has been accepting a subsidy amounting to about $1,000 a month from wealthy Republicans who have a certain political axe which they want young Nixon to wield. The gifts, made in little over a year between Nixon's installation as United States Senator and his nomination to be assistant President, have amounted to at least $16,000. No one knows how much more California gold may be involved.

The 50 to 100 wealthy Republicans who have been chipping in $100 to $500 a year to support Senator Nixon in proper style, arranged that their contributions should be made in such a way that "no one could say that he was buying a Senator or accuse him of owning one." The quotation comes from Attorney Dana C. Smith, partner in the Pasadena corporation law firm of Campbell, Smith and Campbell, head of the Southern California Volunteers for Eisenhower, and vice-president and director of Smith and Sons investment company.

Smith was the man who set up the cozy little deal under which anxious contributors would be limited to $500 per annum to Mr. Nixon. The plan was simple. Smith, who was incidentally the finance manager of Nixon's million-dollar campaign in 1950, established a special trust fund in the First Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena. He assigned himself as trustee. Then, when Nixon's bills needed paying, Smith wrote the checks. The money was obtained under a plea that Nixon, as "the finest salesman of the American free enterprise system," needed more than the $50,000 yearly he draws from the government in salary and extra expense allowance provided him as Senator from one of the three most populous states.

The pitch was something like this: "Dick Nixon is the best salesman the Republicans have against socialization and the kind of government controls all of us oppose so bitterly. Unfortunately, he has limited means and thus cannot compete in entertaining and the other necessities of Washington life with such men as Sen. William F. Knowland and other millionaire politicians.

"For example, Dick needs a larger house so that his guests may be properly accommodated. His wife needs a full-time maid so that the household service may be adequate. He needs to send out thousands of Christmas cards to his friends and supporters all over the state. If all of us chip in a few hundred dollars a year, Dick can give us the kind of representation in Washington we deserve."

It was a good sales pitch; it was made to monied Californians who had regularly supported Nixon, and it worked. Since that time, financial-wizard Smith has disbursed more than $16,000 which, he says, went to pay for such things as Christmas cards, long-distance calls, round trips between California and Washington, records of Nixon's speeches for presentation on free radio time but which themselves cost money and mail matter which couldn't properly go under the free Congressional privilege as official mail. Nixon, meanwhile, has purchased a nice two-story, tile-roofed home in the exclusive Spring Valley section of Washington and his wife has her full-time maid.

Smith was reluctant about naming the people who had made Nixon's new prosperity possible. Among those he did name were John J. (Jack) Garland, brother-in-law of Norman Chandler, the publisher of California's biggest and most Republican newspaper, the Los Angeles *Times*, and some oil men, real-estate operators, insurance brokers and financiers whose names were unknown to the general public. But the business firms with which they are connected and the fields of industry and finance represented are very familiar to those who follow pressure politics in Washington and are informed about how much they invest in regular lobbying activities.

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Among the names revealed are prominent Southern California real-estate men. Brothers, George and Robert Rowan, real-estate and insurance brokers, and Morgan Adams Jr., chairman of the board of the Western Mortgage Corporation, have been consistent foes of public housing. In the 82nd Congress and before, Nixon has voted against public housing and against rent control.

At least two prominent personalities with interests in petroleum or tidelands oil are on the list made public by Smith: Thomas Pike, president of both the Pike Drilling Company and the Casualty Insurance Company of California, and Tyler Woodward of the Southern California Petroleum Corporation. Senator Nixon has been in the forefront of the fight for state control of the offshore oil and voted again this year against the Hill Amendment which would have provided that income from federal control of the oil be used to improve the nation's schools.

It is possible to line up other Nixon votes with the interests of his revealed benefactors. The New York *Times* referred to the group as "the Millionaires Club." Such a group would have the most to gain from some of the tax loopholes in the current income-tax laws which Nixon voted against plugging up during the last Congress. Nixon, for example, voted against the Douglas Amendment which provided for a withholding tax on dividends and corporate bond interest.

Nobody knows as yet whether the Nixon trust-fund program is legal or illegal. Accusations are being made, and the Justice Department will undoubtedly take a careful look. A more serious matter was involved, however, when Senator Nixon admitted, according to the United Press, that he had paid no income taxes on the special gift of $16,000.

The Nixon concern for money also revived another tale revolving about Sen. Owen Brewster and Henry Grunewald, the mystery man who always seems to be passing a buck from someone to someone else. Nixon, on a recent television show, explained that he had appealed to Brewster, as chairman of the GOP campaign-fund committee in 1950, for money to use in the primary Senatorial race. Brewster refused, he said, on grounds that policy forbade GOP donations in a primary in which more than one Republican candidate was a candidate for nomination. However, when it was explained that California's archaic cross-filing system put Nixon in the position of bucking Democratic liberal Helen Gahagan Douglas for the GOP candidacy, Brewster sent Nixon $5,000 through Grunewald.

Smith, Nixon's campaign financial manager, was a bit foggy about the details, but said he believed he had signed a check repaying the Brewster loan, as it was called, from normal campaign sources.

Not the Nixon trust fund, he explained.

(Continued on page 17)

McCARTHY AND THE MINISTERS

by Emil Rhodes

McCarthyism has captured the majority of Wisconsin's clergymen. That is the inescapable conclusion drawn from a poll of the state's ministers taken shortly before the September 9 primary by Paul Gustafson, church editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*.

The poll was a postcard mailing to 250 clergymen of all denominations without regard to political affiliation. Four questions were asked: "Will Senator McCarthy win the primary?" "Do you feel he should remain in office?" "If victorious in the primary, what do you think his chances are in the November election?" and "How do you feel personally about Senator McCarthy?"

One hundred and ninety-five clergymen answered the poll and 144 responded that they thought he would win the primary and the election. On the more important query: "Do you think he should be returned to the Senate?" 134 answered "Yes," 57 said "No," and four were undecided. All but three expressed their personal feeling about McCarthy. They were not asked to sign their names but a number of them did so voluntarily.

Seventy-five of the 134 who think McCarthy should be returned to the Senate are for him unequivocally. That is, they have no compunctions about his methods or his personal record. Of these 76 ministers who see no quarrel between McCarthy's doctrine and their own, 48 stated they liked him for his "courage" and "fearlessness" without mentioning any specific issue.

This singular point echoes the feeling of many observers of the recent primary that a major source of McCarthy's strength lies not so much in his opposition to Communism as it does in his build-up as a "fighter." As one minister put it in his comment, the people "need somebody to stir up the dust." It was this appeal that was fostered also by the elder LaFollette. "Fighting Bob" has been replaced in Wisconsin politics by "Fighting Joe," though one may wonder how the names of LaFollette and McCarthy could be mentioned together.

Emil Rhodes is a pseudonym for a Wisconsin newspaperman.

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Here are some of the comments of the pro-McCarthy ministers who fall into this group: "We need more such fearless men." "We need an alert watchdog who will warn us against threatening dangers wherever they make their appearance." "Admire him for his courage." "Most loyal American and fighting statesman of our age." "A good American who lets everyone know exactly where he stands." "A fearless, dynamic, intelligent American patriot." "Just the man we need." "He is a man of average honesty, but more than average courage."

Twenty-eight of those clergymen who have no qualms in supporting McCarthy specifically mentioned "Communists," "Communism," "Reds" or "subversives" in their comments. Inasmuch as McCarthy is supposed to be "running against Stalin" this seems a rather small percentage of citations specifically mentioning the enemy. Some typical expressions: "He is the *only one* in the USA fighting Communism." "We hope he keeps up his good work *exposing Communists!*" (Italics mine.)

Probably the most significant returns of the poll were those of ministers who recognize that McCarthy's methods aren't above suspicion and criticism, but who are willing to submerge their scruples on the ground that the end justifies the means. There were 33 who said McCarthy should be returned to the Senate even though they disapproved or were critical of his methods. In contrast most of the 54 clergymen who said they want to see McCarthy defeated recognize the issue of Communism, but believe McCarthy's means toward eliminating it in government (if it exists) are a greater danger.

Compare these expressions: From a minister who wishes to see McCarthy return, ". . . He has done a good service. Too bad some innocent ones were hurt." And from one who opposes him, "I think his cure for Communism is as bad as the disease itself—it encourages strife and is unfair to innocent people."

We now have the ironic prospect of the man in the pulpit urging us on Sunday: "Thou shalt not bear false witness" and on the first Tuesday in November voting for the man many people believe is the Senate's leading violator of the Ninth Commandment.

CAN GERMANY FIT INTO EUROPE?

by Thomas Goldstein

ALONG WITH the enthusiasm and the fervor aroused by the consciousness of being part of a history-shaping convention, the delegates hammering out the draft of the first European constitution in Strassburg must have depressing moments when they look at the job ahead. How to allow for the differences of culture, economic development, political power? Among the delegates from France, Belgium and Holland there is, however, one dominant fear. That is that the Germans, no matter how co-operative their spokesmen are now, will soon decide that they want a free hand in international power politics.

What basis is there to this fear that Germany will once more be the instrument for preventing peace in Europe? So far progress toward tying Germany's fortunes in with those of her neighbors has been good. The first debate in the German Bundestag last June on the proposed "contract" between Germany and the Western Allies showed less strength among the opposition than had been expected. And the new Supreme Court of the Federal Republic has now refused a request that it declare the compact unconstitutional. In the two additional readings of the bill to come this fall, the government coalition is expected to carry the measure through with an adequate majority. Formally at least, democratic Germany will then have elected to ally itself with the West on a long-term basis.

Thomas Goldstein is a historian and writer on European politics.

It is hard to appreciate the significance of this step unless one is fairly familiar with the drift of German history. German history is not rich in alliances (with the lone exception of Prussia's alliance with Britain, within the Grand Coalition against Napoleon). Politically, Germany has never thought of herself as a "Western nation." Her origins are in the colonialism of the Roman Empire, reaching out across the Rhine and the Danube, as a wedge driven into the wilds of Northern and Eastern Europe. The bulk of present-day German territory was gained in the colonialism of the Middle Ages, a slow, gradual, tenacious process of conquest, religious conversion and actual pioneering. It was Eastward expansion that produced Germany's present geographical shape—much as the US became a nation by expanding toward the West.

It is true that the centers of German cultural, spiritual and political life during the Middle Ages were in Southern and Western Europe—in Aachen, residence of Charlemagne; on the Rhine where later emperors resided; in Sicily, residence of Emperor Frederick II; in Rome, seat of the Papacy. But the ascendance of Germany as a nation took the form of a severance of these ties. The emerging German nationalism emphatically turned its back on Rome and Mediterranean culture. Luther's break with the Church, the independence of the small Protestant states, the deliberate search for authentic, non-Western German cultural values—all were as-

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sertions of the newly colonized, authentically German territories across the Rhine-Main line.

Even in the days of the Weimar Republic German education still reflected certain preferences for pre-Roman, Germanic culture and a distaste for Mediterranean, Western influences. When Hitler came to power, he was able to invoke precisely these potent elements of German history — the anti-Catholic, anti-Western, assertively Germanic elements—and to revive the Eastward expansion on which German history had gravitated.

The predominant motif of German history has been an excessive self-reliance. But the thought of co-operating with Russia was traditionally less alien to German political thinking than the idea of a French or British alliance. Frederick II was saved from a debacle in the Seven Years' War by an unexpected alliance with Czar Paul I. Jointly, Russia and Prussia turned on Napoleon after a great Prussian statesman, the Freiherr von Stein, had won Russia's support. Bismarck made it a tenet of German foreign policy never to alienate Russia. The Weimar period saw a significant school of conservative generals and politicians, by no means sympathizing with the Communist system, advocate close ties with Russia.

But if Germany in one way or another tended to lean toward the East rather than toward the Western powers, that tendency was merely a slight deflection from the rigid posture of self-reliance. Political self-reliance became a necessity and ultimately a habit for a country which is lacking in all natural borders or defenses (except the North and Baltic Seas). German history is the history of an "open country" often over-run, often—as in the Thirty Years' War—the battle-ground for foreign powers. The chief need for German statesmen since the Middle Ages was to secure the borders, against Romans, Huns, Mongol hordes, Turks, Swedes, French, Russians, the Hapsburg monarchy. During the two world wars, the eternal obsession of the "open nation" seemed to have materialized, the entire outside world, as it were, closing in on Germany.

These historical factors, rooted as they are in the geographic conditions, may be taken as a justification for German nationalism. But they may also be viewed as so many real obstacles to wholehearted international co-operation. Like an individual who has been compelled by circumstances to rely excessively upon himself, the German nation is basically wary of having to depend on the outside world in any form. As a product of his history, the average German feels that he must assert his national interests as well as his cultural heritage against a hostile world.

The German example shows, if that proof is needed, that a nation may, by its history, acquire "neurotic" traits just as an individual may acquire them through his personal experiences. The "typical" German has his obsessions and deep-seated fears, and his attitude toward the outside world is both fearful and hostile. He is overly self-reliant, to the point of being unable to communicate and co-operate in a natural way. He is defensive, and his defensiveness may turn into aggression and violence. Even normally, feelings of distrust, inferiority, false superiority, defiance and sarcastic detachment will predominate over those of goodwill. And there is of course also the fact that parallel to the excessive self-reliance and seclusion in the German character runs the powerful yearning toward universal ideals. The German prides himself on his culture's capacity to penetrate foreign civilizations (especially the Italian) and on his philosophers' attempts to overcome nationalism by the creation of sometimes almost abstract universal systems that know no national barriers. If this trend finds any expression in present-day politics, it apparently does so in the pan-European idealism of important sectors of the academic youth. The historic aloofness of the German national character is, in other words, essentially artificial. What is more, it has obviously become a severe anachronism. The crux of the German problem may be to help Germany find a way into the contemporary world of wide-open international relations.

Historical analysis seems to show that there is not much chance for a genuine growth of democracy in Germany as long as Germany, with its historic contradictions, is left to herself. It seems to show that the real chance lies in tearing down the old barriers and giving the German nation an opportunity for peaceful amalgamation with others. But, if the integration of the Germans with the European community is to work, they must learn to shed deep-seated resistances and defenses, to think in new concepts, surpassing the historically narrow, national ones, to co-operate, negotiate and compromise. A beginning of this new mode has been made in the negotiations leading to the conclusion of the Schuman Plan pact. In a sense, they must learn that the elements of German tradition which have made for seclusion, overbearing and aggression must come to an end.

It would be foolish to overlook the continued dangers of a Germany restored to some measure of power, no matter what the circumstances and the framework. But that concern should not blind us to the fact that here, for the first time, is an opportunity for a constructive solution of the German problem through the peaceful fusing of Germany's energies with those of the rest of the world.

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CAN EISENHOWER DEFEAT HISTORY?

by Charles R. Adrian

"CORRUPTION in government has reached the point where a change in Administration is essential." These words were spoken by an opponent of the Democratic Administration of another day, John C. Calhoun, temporarily a member of the opposition party, the Whigs, in 1835 when America was looking about, seeking a successor to Andrew Jackson, then in his second term in the White House. His party had come to power with Thomas Jefferson in 1800 and had not since been defeated. Jackson personally chose his own successor in Martin Van Buren. The Whig coalition, unable to unite upon a candidate because of basic internal differences, ran several regional favorite sons, hoping to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

The campaign centered around an effort to "drive the rascals out." The rascally Democrats, their opponents claimed, were corrupt to the core and were led by a dictatorial spoilsman (Jackson) who had no respect for the constitutional limitations upon the executive power and who was so faithful a party man that he never forgot a friend and so stubborn that he never forgave an enemy. The Democrats were accused of having brought about virtual universal manhood suffrage and then in order to keep themselves in power, of having offered any type of political promise to anyone for votes.

The time had come when a halt would have to be called, the opposition leaders declared. In November, 1836, "King Mob" went to the polls after having listened to the Whigs conjure up a chamber of horrors and to the Democrats promise four more years of control by "the people" and not by "special privilege." The Democrats were the In Party and they won the election. Indeed, they won every election, save two, between 1800 and 1860.

Facing the 1952 election today, many of the concepts and accusations found above sound amazingly familiar. This prompts the inquiry as to just what is the meaning of the In Party and what relationship does the Out Party bear to it? How often has the Out Party won in the past? And why? Under what conditions can the Out Party—the party that must convince people that it is actually "time for a change"—win the Presidency?

An examination of the six Out-Party wins shows that it has happened only where one of two conditions have existed (and neither condition will, in any sense, *guarantee* an Out-Party win): (1) where there has been a sharp economic recession within the preceding four years, or (2) where the In Party is plagued by a sufficiently serious third-party movement. Military heroes as candidates, claims of having won or averted a war and political myths dealing with foreign affairs all may have their effect upon Presidential campaigns, but contrary to popular impression other factors, such as charges of serious corruption in government or arguments for change for the sake of change because the one party has been "in too long," have not been important influences.

The Whigs—the party of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—managed to win two Presidential elections from the Democrats, one in 1840 and the other in 1848. It is worth noting that in both campaigns (1) the Whigs engaged in a definite Me-Too approach and (2) on neither occasion were they able to win with a Whig, but were forced to nominate a military hero with no political record. No man who was actually an active Whig was ever elected President. Their outstanding candidate perenially was Henry Clay, the voice of the conservative business community—in many ways the Robert A. Taft of something over a century ago. Clay never got near the Presidency, always failing either to get the nomination or failing at the polls.

In 1840 when the long reign of the Ins was about to be broken for the first time, Clay thought he saw his chance at last. To his disappointment, however, the word was passed around that he "couldn't win" (he had lost before) and the Whig convention turned to a military hero, a man who had made a reputation as an Indian fighter, William Henry Harrison. Harrison had been in public life only briefly and was not on record on any of the major issues confronting the nation. Hence the Whigs had found an ideal candidate. During the campaign, they used the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" (Tippecanoe was the location of Harrison's greatest victory; John Tyler, a renegade Democrat, was the Veep candidate) and promised the working people "two dollars a day and roast beef" while keeping all real issues in the background. In its use of generalities, irrelevancies and emotional appeals in preference to rational argumentation on the questions of the day, this campaign became a model for future Presidential races. It was a Me-Too campaign in the sense that the Whigs tried to sell their candidate as a more genuine frontier product than was Jackson's own candidate, Martin Van Buren. In reality, Harrison was a product of the old

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Virginia aristocracy. The Whigs hinted that Van Buren was an Eastern aristocrat (actually his father had been a saloon keeper) who lived like a king in the White House and who—of all the disgraceful things—put cologne in his beard! Obviously, if the people wanted a Jacksonian in the Presidency, the Whig "frontiersman" was their man.

All of this hoopla probably would have left the Democrats unphased if they had not had to try at the same time to hide a rather sizable skeleton in the family closet—the skeleton being the memory of the Panic of 1837, a depression caused by over-speculation in a young, optimistic nation. Its effects were felt for a decade—and the Whigs blamed the Democrats, the In Party.

Despite all these factors, the Democrats came very close to winning again. True, the electoral vote was decisive—234 to 60—but Harrison won by only 145,914 votes out of nearly two and one-half million. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has shown in his wonderful story, *The Age of Jackson*, that a shift of a mere 8,184 votes in the right spots would have re-elected Van Buren.

Four years later the Ins returned to power when Democrat James Knox Polk defeated Henry Clay (Harrison had died after 30 days in office and his successor, John Tyler, was *persona non grata* with the Whigs). Polk refused to run for re-election and the stage was set for the second successful campaign by the Outs. In 1848, the Democrats nominated a most able man, Sen. Lewis Cass of Michigan. The Whigs refused to nominate Clay again and passed over Webster who was too closely tied to the remnants of New England Federalism for availability. They decided to try the formula that had succeeded eight years earlier. On the fourth ballot the nod went to a military hero whose views on specific national problems were as unknown as Harrison's had been and who had become a sort of Douglas MacArthur of the Mexican War by feuding with the Democratic Administration (which was at least equally to blame) and by corresponding with Whig leaders while in command in Mexico. Zachary Taylor, despite recent attempts to polish his badly tarnished reputation, was a good soldier, but knew nothing about politics.

The Whigs again sold their candidate as a true frontiersman and military hero in the Jacksonian tradition. With the slavery issue becoming increasingly important, the party talked "states' rights" in the South and courted the abolitionists in the North. The Democrats did not have the advantage of incumbency and were faced with the omnipresent reaction against any party that holds power during a war. As a result, the election was close. The factor that gave Taylor a 163 to 127 win in the electoral college was the impressive vote polled by a new third party, the Free Soilers (an anti-slavery coalition), with former Democratic President Martin Van Buren as their candidate. This defection cost the Democrats New York State.

The Whigs never won again. They were torn asunder in the great struggle over slavery and the party was dead before the Civil War began. Lincoln's election in 1860 brought a new party to power. The Republicans, after the war was won, became associated in the public mind with the fantastic industrial progress of the last half of the nineteenth century and with the great increases in the standard of living that resulted. The party won every election in a 72-year period save two to Cleveland and two to Wilson.

Of Republican losses to the Out Party, it is easy to dispose of the Wilson Administration quickly. Theodore Roosevelt, in leaving the Presidency in 1908, personally chose William Howard Taft as his successor, but a feud arose between the two after Roosevelt came back from Europe in 1910. The arguments were in part over whether Taft had carried out TR's "progressive" policies or had become a conservative, and were in part personal in nature. The ensuing rift brought Taft into the election of 1912 as the Republican candidate with Roosevelt running as a "Bull Moose" Progressive. Wilson could not have won if the In Party had not become so powerful that it could afford the luxury of internal dissension.

The Cleveland wins were a bit more complicated. In 1884, when it appeared that the Republicans had a patent on the Presidency, they were rather unexpectedly dumped out of the White House when their candidate, James G. Blaine, lost to Grover Cleveland. There were three principal factors that led to this turn of events. In the first place, a Protestant clergyman near the end of the campaign referred to the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." It was a stupid political blunder that was given wide publicity and solidified the potentially Republican Irish vote behind the Democratic standard. In the second place, no less an historian than Charles A. Beard has suggested that Cleveland may have carried New York and the election only because of the diligent stuffing of Manhattan ballot boxes by Tammany Hall. In the third place, a third-party defection—this time by the Prohibitionists—again damaged the In Party, definitely depriving Blaine of New York. The popular vote ended in a virtual tie, but Cleveland took the electoral college, 219 to 182.

Four years later, the In Party returned to power when the Republicans won with one of the least personable candidates in history—Benjamin Harrison. Actually Cleveland had 100,000 more votes than the Republican

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and should have won on incumbental advantage, but the accident of the distribution gave the electoral college majority to Harrison. In 1892, Cleveland tried again against the incumbent. In this campaign, a nascent factor began to show itself: organized labor had become important enough to exercise a noticeable effect upon the election and it worked hard to defeat one of its particular enemies, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, Whitelaw Reid. A higher cost of living as the result of the McKinley tariff also caused resentment, but there were two much more important factors. First, there were danger signals indicating the approach of the great Panic of 1893. Secondly, Populism was rampant in the West. Its candidate, James B. Weaver of Iowa, polled more than one million votes, most of them from Harrison, who was defeated. It should be noted that Cleveland was a conservative who departed from Republican practices only in desiring a lower tariff. Except for the tariff, Me-Tooism was implicit in his campaigns.

Our history indicates that the Outs can do well when the majority party suffers from third-party defection, or when there has been a depression. With other things rather favorable, it sometimes helps if the Outs nominate a military hero. But the power of the Ins is ordinarily such that they can overcome even very great obstacles. Not all military heroes have won, and none at all have succeeded for the *Outs* in the last century. Winfield Scott, a hero of the Mexican War, was beaten by a very weak Democrat, Franklin Pierce, in 1852. The spanking new Republican Party unsuccessfully tried a glamorous, widely known adventurer, Gen. John C. Fremont in 1856. In 1880, the Democrats ran Winfield Scott Hancock, a Civil War hero who had never before been in politics and who had no known political convictions. Garfield defeated him on a "prosperity" platform and by the fact that he, too, had been a General.

Depressions and "panics" have not all brought defeat. The Ins survived the Panics of 1819, 1907 and, narrowly, that of 1873. Defections have meant defeat for the Ins on several occasions, yet Grant survived the efforts of the Liberal Republicans in 1872; the Republicans were undisturbed by nearly one million Socialist votes in 1920, or by the nearly five million votes that went to the LaFollette Progressives in 1924. Truman survived not one, but two, defections in 1948.

Corruption has often—more or less regularly since 1832—been raised as an issue in American Presidential campaigns, perhaps because Americans traditionally have believed that all politicians are crooked. Yet this very belief defeats the effectiveness of the argument. If all politicians are crooked, what value is there in throwing out the batch in office? Won't their successors be crooked, too? No political party in the past has ever lost the Presidency as the result of alleged corruption (although it should be noted that part of the successful attack of the Democrats in 1884 did levy charges of graft against Blaine). There have been perhaps four contests in which the issue was especially prominent. As a result of the widespread application of the spoils system in Jackson's Administration, charges of corruption were unsuccessfully raised against first Jackson and then Van Buren in the campaigns of 1832 and 1836.

After the almost unbelievable graft and irregularities of the Grant Administration, the worst in our history, the Democrats made this the issue of 1876, running Samuel J. Tilden, a man of unquestioned honesty who had fought corruption in New York State. In this, the famed Hayes-Tilden election, we have an historical question that will probably never be settled. Did the Republicans steal the election? Or did the Democrats steal the election (by disenfranchising Southern Negroes) only to have the Republicans steal it back? In any event, its closeness was in all likelihood principally the result not of the corruption issue, but of the Panic of 1873, for the nation was still in depression.

Another disgraceful blot upon American history took place during Harding's Administration. The corruption, inefficiency, graft and swindling that took place far exceeded even the worst allegations that have been brought, so far at least, against the Truman Administration. The Democrats tried to make the most of it in the 1924 campaign, but fortunately for the Republicans, an easy answer was available. They simply allowed the blame to be assessed against the essentially innocent, if incompetent, Harding, who was then dead. Coolidge ran on a prosperity ticket and hinted darkly at the latent dangers of radicalism. He walked off with a thumping majority. Corruption has simply not been a highly salable issue on the American political market.

The life of the Out Party is not an easy one. It does not win often and when it does, it is not because of the policies it advocates—for its arguments are almost from necessity Me-Tooism and negative in character. Outside of such rarities as a ghastly political mistake (such as the Rum, Romanism and Rebellion crack), the Outs must wait for a depression (and there has been none in the last four years), or a third-party defection (none has appeared in 1952). While the Republicans were intensely optimistic in 1948 and were nearly as much so early in 1952, history gives them little cause for such a viewpoint. The odds against them are enormous. With Taft as their nominee they would not have had a prayer. With Ike, they do. But the going will be rough.

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(Continued from page 11)

Within 48 hours after the "Secret Nixon Fund" was made public by the New York *Post*, the following events had taken place:

1. General Eisenhower said he believed his running-mate to be an "honest man." He asked Nixon, who had issued a statement that the story was a "typical left-wing smear," for the facts that would convince the public he was "clean as a hound's tooth."

2. The Washington *Post*, the New York *Herald Tribune* and the two Richmond, Va., papers—all for Eisenhower—called on Nixon to make a formal offer to withdraw. A New York *Times* survey of 100 representative papers, the majority of which are Republican, showed disapproval of Nixon almost two to one.

3. Nixon ordered Dana Smith to make public the full list of contributors—76 in all—who had given the California Senator a total of $18,235 as "supplementary expenditures." Close examination of the names bore out even more emphatically the pattern of interest groups described above. Oil and real estate men predominated and most of Nixon's benefactors came from groups campaigning for "free enterprise." "Free enterprise" to this group meant abolition of price, rent and credit controls, an end to public housing and opposition to efforts to establish federal rights to off-shore oil lands.

4. Top Republican leaders, headed by GOP Chairman Arthur Summerfield, lined up behind Nixon. However, the telegrams the General received were about 50-50, or, as one reporter put it, "half to keep and half to cast away."

5. While Governor Stevenson reserved judgment until a full disclosure of the fund could be made, Democratic Chairman Stephen Mitchell called on Nixon to resign. Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D, Okla.) suggested that the public set up a "Bundles-for-Nixon" campaign to take care of his current campaign expenses. Vice Presidential candidate John Sparkman recommended that the Hoey Permanent Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee investigate the secret fund.

Nixon, one of the members of this subcommittee, has carried on a relentless drive to expose "crooks" in the government and even pointed his menacing finger at the financial shenanigans of former Republican National Committee Chairman Guy Gabrielson along with Democratic Chairman William O. Boyle and former Rep. Joseph Casey (D, Mass.) among others. His current plea for understanding and tolerance of his own financial activities is contrary to the very atmosphere he attempted to create in the investigations before his committee.

Whether or not the Republican policy makers decide that Nixon's fund is ethical, Congressional attention will be turned on the legality of "gift" contributions probably after the November election. Rep. Oakley Hunter (R, Calif.) attempted to take some of the heat off Nixon by admitting that about $4,000 was expended to him from a special expense allowance set up when he took office in January, 1951. Several weeks ago a similar $7,000 gift to Governor McKeldin (R, Md.) was returned to secret donors when former Sen. Millard Tydings demanded that the names of those who contributed be made public.

While Congressional salaries have long been declared too low, the $12,500 base annual income is far from the actual sum alloted to Senators. Newsmen checking the salary and expenses given Nixon by the government pushed the total to approximately $70,000. As a Senator Nixon is given a special cash fund for stationery, airmail and special delivery stamps, long-distance telephone calls and telegrams. He is allowed 20-cents-a-mile travel expenses to and from each session of Congress. His office space and all the furniture, in Washington is free. He has free franking of all "official business" correspondence, and he is even entitled to free haircuts and shaves in the Senate barber shop.

In the September 6, 1952, issue of the Saturday Evening *Post*, Patricia Nixon tells about the start of her husband's rise in her own words: "We've been broke—so broke that I wept because at a critical moment there wasn't any money to buy stamps to mail campaign literature for which we had paid dearly." That was when Nixon began his political career six years ago. But he has since made up for lost time. Dana Smith disbursed $6,166.60 to Nixon for stationery, printing, mimeographing and supplies; $3,430.78 for travel and hotel expenses; $2,017.79 for radio and TV expenses, etc.

Mrs. Nixon goes on to tell that since Dick has been in Congress, "We have never done much entertaining in Washington because a Senator's salary, *which is all we have*, runs out amazingly fast." (Italics ours). The combined total of Dana Smith's "little fund" and the Senator's legitimate allowance from the government averaged $79,000 per year.

When the selection of a Vice-President came up in the Republican convention, Patricia Nixon confides to *Post* readers these heartfelt words of her husband's:

"If they feel I'm the one who can help the ticket the most, I feel I should accept. I want to see the party win with Ike. Then I'd feel I had helped to do something that has been my purpose since I went into politics."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

MUSIC AT YADDO: A FESTIVAL YEAR

by Robert Evett

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN MUSIC has, for some twenty-five years, been intimately connected with that of Yaddo, an institution at Saratoga Springs, New York which acts as an impersonal and generous patron to the several arts. Most of the time, the Yaddo estate offers sanctuary to composers, painters, and writers who come to live there. Every two or three years, however, Yaddo is the scene of a lavish music festival, devoted completely to modern work. The fact that this is not an annual occurence seems to enhance its value and importance when it does occur.

Before Yaddo was opened, American music was usually a genteel imitation of outmoded European work. Its services were made available at the time when Roy Harris, Aaron Copland, Walter Piston and the other composers of their generation were returning to the United States with the talent and the imagination necessary for bringing our music to maturity and calling it to the attention of the rest of the world. Most of these men spent time working at Yaddo, and all of those who subsequently developed great prestige were performed at the festivals. In the nine music periods to date, Yaddo has performed the work of over 130 composers. Some of these people have died, some have lapsed into obscurity (or, indeed, never left it), but a good quarter of the composers have attained considerable celebrity; in most cases, their reputations were established after their first Yaddo performances. The Yaddo committees have shown an uncanny knack for recognizing talent earlier than the rest of the world, and can claim at least partial credit for the launching of several brilliant careers.

The festival this September, "in observance of Yaddo's first twenty-five years of service to the arts," was predominantly retrospective, and featured the work of those composers who have added most to its reputation in the past. These are the men who, in 1930, were writing an angular, austere music, heavily influenced by Stravinsky and other lords of the 'twenties. The intervening decades have witnessed two major revolutions of taste. These men helped shape the first one, and have been stranded by the second; they may, perhaps, contribute to a third. Hearing their now rarely performed work, it is a pleasure to see that their creative strength has not been impaired by the lean years since the last war.

If composers like Harris and Piston can be accused of being conservative and academic, it is because they conserve a tradition which they have, in a sense, created, and a *modus operandi* which can be taught. Instead of being stifled by the academy, they have brought it new life as teachers, and have proven that imagination is in no way incompatible with learning. In New York and elsewhere, they have had to yield to the experimental work which is currently enjoying a vogue, but the soundness of their work gives it a permanent value. If they represent the right-wing of contemporary musical thought, a comparison of their works will show how flexible that wing is. The Harris *Violin Sonata*, performed at the opening opening concert, is full of grace, brilliance, and an eloquent use of consonant harmony in a context of fairly straightforward rhythm. Piston's *Divertimento* is a wiry, dissonant piece, elaborately counterpointed and contrived with Baroque mannerisms. The works are alike only in that they demonstrate the same kind of melodic and structural logic, and even here there are some important technical and aesthetic differences.

The younger composers represented on the festival programs were also, in the main, conservative, though in many different ways. The *Bassoon Sonata* of Halsey Stevens is, like the Piston piece, a brisk and elaborately contrived work, and Samuel Barber's familiar *Capricorn Concerto* shows the influence (in this case, singularly healthy), of Stravinsky. Jack Beeson's pale but pleasant *Piano Sonata* and the *Violin Sonata* of Nikolai Lopatnikoff reflect the American tradition of the 'thirties. The short but gorgeous *Sinfonia* of Peter Mennin and Diamond's *Romeo and Juliet* also demonstrated the strength of the Harris-Copland-Piston influence in America, and to the benign influence of Hindemith, Milhaud and Honneger from Europe.

Ben Weber's *Two Pieces for String Orchestra* show his own special approach to the techniques and traditions of the Viennese moderns. Weber has drawn intensity and directness — their best qualities—from Berg and Schoenberg, as well as a good bit of their method, though like Berg, he is not a doctrinaire exponent of the twelve-tone row, and allows himself technical latitude when cerebration would interfere with effect.

Only a few new works were introduced at the festival. Some, such as Howard Boatwright's orchestral *Variations* show that an overdose of the modern academy (in this case, Hindemith's), can hamper what may well be a considerable talent. Walter Hartley's *Triptych* is a student piece, but as such, it is singularly accomplished and impressive. A new *Quartet* by Stephen Bonta shows considerable imagination at work within a smooth technique.

Yaddo was lucky in having a new work by Robert Palmer, a *Quintet for Wind Instruments* which was played there for the first time. This altogether extraordinary piece represents another phase in Palmer's development, and has a charm and a serenity which he has

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been projecting only in his recent work. Admirers of Palmer will find his rhythmic vitality unchanged, his style essentially the same, and his integrity, as always, intact. In content, however, the work belongs to that category of composition which is neither serious nor frivolous, the kind Bach loved to write in his Sonatas and Concerti. Palmer's crescent versalitity entitles him, more than ever, to recognition as a major composer.

I wish that performances at Yaddo had all been equally good. No one enjoys hearing music badly played, and some of the chamber music was pretty scratchy at best. The Modern Art String Quartet was not able to prepare adequate readings within the short rehearsal period. The orchestra was a considerable cut above the chamber combinations. Frederick Fennell, a conductor whose name was new to me, was careful to choose pieces that could be prepared quickly and that would sound brilliant. He is a conscientious, thorough musician who is particularly imaginative in sensuous, rich pieces like Bernard Rogers' *Song of the Nightingale*, and equally perceptive in the reading of less elaborate scores, such as Virgil Thomson's *Plow that Broke the Plains* and my own *Concerto for Small Orchestra.*

The list of soloists included the names of Johana Harris, Josef Gingold, and Josef Fuchs, all of them handsome players. John Kirkpatrick, one of the most able and inexhaustible champions of new music, who served on the Yaddo music committee, appeared in at least seven performances.

It is unfortunate that so much of the program was made up of compositions that are already well known; one of Yaddo's main functions has always been the introduction of new work, and I suspect that many really superior pieces were denied performance so that the retrospective quality could be maintained. But at a time when most festivals and concerts of contemporary work show a strong experimental direction, the festival was a welcome reminder of the strength and beauty of new music's right wing.

OLYMPIAN DETACHMENT

BEYOND THE HIGH HIMALAYAS, by William O. Douglas (Doubleday; $5).

A YEAR AGO Justice Douglas pushed his way up by yak, mule and pack train to the Soviet and Chinese borders of Tibet and Pakistan. His porters assumed that he was crazy. With greater tact an Indian officer remarked when he staggered into Leh that no one but Douglas had come to Leh "who didn't have to come."

Douglas went because his love of mountains took him to the grandest mountains in the world. He flew through a fearsome range in Pakistan "where every flight is an experimental journey." He climbed on foot into regions where "it seemed I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role." He nearly perished alone in a Himalayan storm in which he felt "icy hands at my throat, choking me." He collapsed from annoxia at the peak of one 16,200-foot pass. He found himself hanging over an 800-foot cliff when his mule Moti "the laziest, the most irresponsible, the least worthy mule in all Lahul" slipped halfway over a mountain trail.

And at the end, like a good mountaineer he concludes happily:

> I had seen the moon turn the glaciers of Rakhapooshe to gold. I had skimmed the brow of Nanga Parbat and seen the brilliance of its ice cliffs. I had looked up three miles under cliffs and snow fields that reduce man to the pint of ashes which eventually measure him. I had come to know the exhausting grandeur of these giants and to realize what it meant to tremble in their presence.

Carrying films and a wire recorder, Douglas studied the customs and conditions of the people who lived under the mountains. He discussed love with a highly romantic bus driver in Northern India. He rejected a proposal from a giggling Lahuli girl. He directed the construction of a bridge after bargaining sessions that reminded him of getting loans from the RFC. He outsat his mule driver Rup Singh, four days from nowhere, when Rup Singh went on a sitdown strike. He shared the food of the mule drivers, yak butter and a horrible drink known as gur gur cha. He shared also their superstitions, after it was proved that his glass helmet miraculously drove away all storms. He administered cloromycetin for fevers, aspirin for aches and paregoric for constipation, but searched in vain for teeth to pull. He was embraced as an American lama by the boy lama of Hemis whose toys consisted of a "tin airplane, a jumping jack and a bow and arrow." He suffered agonies in the chair of a Saidu barber, and stunned a Pathan nationalist by assuring him that Americans knew nothing of the political aims of Pakistan. Towards the end of his trip he visited an absolute monarch, the Wali of Swat who told him "it's time we absolute monarchs got socially conscious."

Douglas searched for wild flowers to press, and fished for rainbow trout. He studied music and dancing and probed into the social system of Ladakh where the ruling caste of lamas "hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty." He found that in Ladakh a wife may be shared by seven husbands, a husband by seven wives.

Douglas writes with boyish enthusiasm and light hearted humor. But he records unhappily the poverty of Central Asia. He notes that the richest man in Upshi earns $10 a year. He meets an old woman on a 240-mile march across the mountains to buy a little talcum. He visits the Gyalang household in Leh consisting of one wife, Nordzin, her two husbands and her four children:

> . . . "All of them are dressed in rags. Nordzin . . . never washes her dress. She takes it off at night and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. . . . She was nursing a child and as the baby fed Nordzin picked lice off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. . . . Her flat face was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. . . . Her house is a one-room affair . . . the floor is of mud . . . there are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children and two husbands roll up together on the floor."

Douglas attributes the poverty to many varied causes; poor land use, inade-

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quate holdings, lamaism, the closing of the Soviet frontiers to grazing and trade, the diversion of needed resources to the manufacture of beer. He concludes that the poverty must be overcome if Central Asia is not to fall within the Soviet empire. He wants an American program "geared to the skills of the people," administered at the village not the government level and expressive of American ideals. Here, if the goal is sound, the means are open to debate. We lack the ability and the opportunity to act alone in Asia. The need to strengthen governments is even more urgent than the need to reach the villages. The relevance of American political ideals—at least while illiteracy and unendurable poverty continue—is brought into question by Douglas' own admission that the one bright spot in Central Asia is governed by the absolute monarch of Swat.

Still deeper contradictions confront Douglas. He remembers that China has traditionally dominated her small neighbors. He notes that Buddhists throughout Asia are drawn to the Dalai Lama, now in Communist hands, as Catholics are drawn to the Pope. He senses that no amount of good works can halt the pressure of Chinese Communist power. He concludes one night that China must be detached at almost any cost from the Soviet sphere. He remarks sadly that his homeland will tear apart any man who voices this opinion. (He voiced it nonetheless, and his fears were confirmed).

Yet Douglas clings to the hope that Asia will respond to affection rather than force. And in every essential he is sound. Our government is doing more than he gives it credit for. It cannot do all that he demands. But the job must be done. If foreign governments cannot undertake all the reforms Douglas proposes, organizations and individuals must do the rest. Douglas describes the marvelous work of one volunteer, John Clark in a remote village. His call for more volunteers to go to the wild places he has visited, and to live there and work there is right and offers the cause of a lifetime for our young men and women. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

AN AMERICAN STORY

PIONEER'S PROGRESS, by Alvin S. Johnson (Viking Press; $5).

IF ALVIN JOHNSON were an athlete, he would inevitably be known as a triple-threat man. As a scholar, he has taught at Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Nebraska, Texas, Chicago, Stanford, Cornell and Yale, and has written the customary number of weighty textbooks in the field of his specialty, economics. As a journalist and as a creative writer, he was on the editorial staff of the *New Republic* during the exciting years of the First World War and the early '20s, helped edit the *Yale Review* for two decades, worked for half a dozen encyclopedias, including the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, and has written creditable novels and volumes of essays. As an administrator he took charge of the New School for Social Research when it was floundering, raised money for it year after year, and made it the flourishing home for adult education that it is today. Even more remarkable, he created the University in Exile out of thin air, when Hitler made it impossible for any honest scholar, and especially those of Jewish origin, to remain in Germany. He helped advance the soil-conservation movement in this country; he worked for reform of the census, and played a large part in the passage of the anti-discrimination law in New York state. He studied libraries for the Carnegie Corporation and the schools of Puerto Rico for the federal government. He helped bring European farmers to this country and to settle them in co-operative colonies. As an editor of the *New Republic* he fought hard against the savage peace terms imposed on Germany after the First World War—terms that made the rise of someone like Hitler inevitable.

Dr. Johnson's remarkable versatility and range of interest are partly a matter of his own personality and partly a result of the time and the part of the world in which he grew up. The prairie states toward the end of the nineteenth century were an area where things seemed to be getting better and better, the world was your oyster, and anything appeared possible. It is true that the farmers and those who depended on them were hit by successive periods of depression serious enough to give rise to the Populist movement but this was a cause for anger, not pessimism. People were pouring into this region, a fact which in itself solved more problems than it created. New inventions to make life easier and richer kept tumbling out of the laboratories. The Old World was far away, even for the children of immigrants, of whom Johnson was one. There would probably never be any more wars, but if there were America could keep out, or if not, she would certainly be victorious. There would never be any more depressions, once the grip of Wall Street on the railroads and the grain elevators had been broken.

I am not suggesting that Alvin Johnson shared these naive and happy views by any means; only that by temperament he was and is a child of this buoyant generation. His lifetime has embraced two world wars, the worst of all depressions, and the urgent challenge of totalitarianism to democracy, yet his book lays little stress on any of these things, and on the whole, his native prairie optimism seems intact. (To be sure, this optimism is quite compatible with a healthy iconoclasm).

Economics is supposed to be a dull subject, and economists are often dull writers. Alvin Johnson is one of the exceptions; his style is simple and clear, always touched with modest humor. Unless he began keeping a diary in the cradle, he has an astonishing memory; he describes incidents when he was ten, sixty-eight years ago, more vividly than this reviewer could do for something that happened last month. He is an amateur of painting, of architecture and of antique furniture. He likes people, even after half a century of membership in successive college faculties where jealousy is often the dominant emotion and the use of the stiletto a fine art. Few members of his generation have lived more characteristically American lives and none, to my knowledge, has described such a life any better. B. B.

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WELL-WROUGHT FICTION

THE MAN ON A DONKEY, by H. F. M. Prescott (Macmillan; $5).

THE WIDE THRONE of Henry VIII never wobbled more uneasily than during an uprising in the North Country in 1536, called by its participants the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was a serious and powerful movement to save the monasteries from suppression and spoliation and to counter Henry's attack on the Church. The Great Captain of the venture, Robert Aske, who was rather unwillingly pressed into its leadership, has been called one of the most considerable men of his century. For a brief time he disposed of more popular support and strength in England than the King. His honorableness, his loyalty to the throne, and the moderation with which he exercised his unsought power have always commanded the admiration of historians. But putting an unreasonable trust in the pledged word of an untrustworthy ruler, he failed to follow up the advantage he had. His cause was lost and he himself, though "pardoned," ended up, at thirty-five, hanging in chains from a tower in York, where he spent a week dying the most painful of deaths as a warning to the realm of Henry's vengeance upon "traitors."

This man, an example of the finest in the English mind and character of his day, is the hero of *The Man on a Donkey*, a novel turning upon the episode of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It is a scholar's novel, and as such is a very good one, belonging to quite another order than the usual costume piece got up for sale to the movies. Five overlapping lives are chronicled, three of them historical and two imaginary. Robert Aske and his colleague in the Pilgrimage, old Lord Thomas Darcy, come admirably to life, and so does Christabel Cowper, the last Prioress of Marrick, a solidly terrible woman. The two wholly imagined chief characters, a neurotic priest of the New Learning, and a fictitious sister to the real, notorious, Margaret Bulmer, are comparatively weaker. The author's gift is for reconstructing character from documents and particularly for evoking the local detail and atmosphere of Sixteenth Century England, whether at Court or in rural Yorkshire. This background, and the figures of the King, his several unhappy Queens, and his infamous counselors, are handsomely rendered.

"The King," runs a contemporary account of the doings in England, "has cut off Saint Peter's head and set it, ugly sight to behold, upon his own shoulders." But the schism in England was not a simple matter of royal wilfullness and pride, much as these figured in it, and *The Man on a Donkey* does not so simplify it. It is impossible, on the other hand, to make out much of a case for Henry himself, and no such attempt is made. The author's concern is rather with the conflict set up within serious and honorable men, such as Darcy and Aske, when they were pushed to a choice between submission to the throne and adherence to their religious convictions. The Pilgrimage of Grace was not a carefully planned attempted coup, but an almost spontaneous coming-together of a great group of people who were deeply outraged, and who wished to make their protest heard.

This novel on the subject is not only lively and well ordered in form but reaches at times a profundity of interpretation, mainly through Miss Prescott's chief imaginative success: the figure of a half-mad but veritable visionary, Malle, a servant of the Priory at Marrick, whose experiences, at crises of the action, have the quality of commentary on another plane, that of an oracle or chorus. It was a daring and difficult thing for the novelist to attempt, but it comes off.

The author is a former lecturer in Modern History at Lady Margaret College, Oxford, and her book, in preparation since 1941, has been received with high praise in England. Its theme is a fascinating one, but the novel itself cannot be compared to the best work of a true novelist any more than a tapestry scene, however fine, can be compared to a portrait by Goya. *The Man on a Donkey* is badly titled and occasionally falls into some literary excess. It is nevertheless a remarkably rich and well-wrought work and admirable for its own qualities.

S. M. FITZGERALD

DAGGER WITH CLOAK

SPY-CATCHER, by Oreste Pinto (Harper; $2.75).

COLONEL PINTO HAS produced, together in one volume, a fascinating memoir of World War II, and a superior treatise on military counter-intelligence. Further, in writing directly to his points, he reveals such an attractive literary personality that we hope for more books on these, or any other of his interests—shooting, boxing and zoology. From the jacket of the British edition (which has been a great success) and from that of the U. S. edition, as well as from the text—the author is not to be found in *Who's Who* — we gather that Lt. Colonel Pinto, now sixty-five years old, is Dutch-born, trained with the French Deuxième Bureau, and served with MI5 in England. In that service he became Chief Examiner at the Royal Victoria Patriotic School in April, 1941, was transferred in October, 1942, to the Netherlands Counter-Intelligence Mission attached to SHAEF, was released from the Dutch Security Service in October, 1945, and later promoted and transferred to duty in Germany. He retired from military service in 1948 and now lives and lectures in London. General Eisenhower is quoted as calling him "the greatest living authority on security."

The systematic treatment of the art of spy-catching is encompassed in two introductory chapters, and a final "Forward Glance." The experienced commonsense of Pinto's remarks on the

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mind and method of counter-espionage justify their brevity. Some of his captions are: memory, patience and detail, languages, travel, psychological and legal training, acting ability, gift and practice in detection. The chapter on Methods of Interrogation has a natural emphasis on recent British procedure, and include some 1942 Notes on Examination dating from the author's screening experience at the Royal Victoria Patriotic School.

Eight stories are given in each edition. The Harper text has a fresh story "The Thirteenth Man," but omits the traditional romantic episode called "The Girl in the Blue Blouse" in the Wernie Laurie of London redaction. They ring true—including the vexed failure to prosecute the traitor of Arnheim, and are all good reading. The author is even old-fashioned enough to dislike Nazis.

SIDNEY KRAMER

TWO EMINENT VICTORIANS

THOMAS CARLYLE, by Julian Symons (Oxford; $3.50).

THE BURIED LIFE, by Gordon N. Ray (Harvard; $2.75).

THE EMBARRASSINGLY rich documentation available for Carlyle's life made possible D. A. Wilson's vast standard biography and has also been a boon for glib psycho-pathological theorizers. The lay reader, for whom Carlyle is a vague schoolroom memory of verbal fulmination and syntactical epilepsy, has needed a sound one-volume portrait marshalling the facts with a smooth readibility, treating controversial issues sanely, and essaying neat re-assessments of the art and thought of the major works in the light of our own time's brilliant conquests in literary criticism and the history of ideas. The present volume is a gesture toward meeting this need, which of course is a pretty large order. Mr. Symons has not quite filled it because, despite a fine sense of proportion, he concerns himself primarily with the man and only incidentally with the writer, the thinker, and the age. Yet there are passages rejecting the notion that Carlyle was a precursor of Fascism, characterizing the uniqueness of his style and the importance of its influence, and bidding us account for the fact that the "great magician" "rubbed the wrong lamps" by reference more to social than to personal neurosis.

Since the appearance of Professor Ray's monumental *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray,* one critical study—that by J. Y. T. Greig—has argued that Thackeray's major novels are vitiated by an ambivalence between satire and sentimentalism symptomatic of a split in the author's own personality. Other critics

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have found sardonic irony everywhere. Professor Ray, now at work on what promises to be the definitive biography of Thackeray, makes in this series of lectures lively use of his knowledge of all the sources—including some unpublished ones—to correct such ingeniously erroneous perspectives. Because Thackeray based many of his characters on those closest to him—Amelia, for example, on his wife, Helen Pendennis on his mother, Major Pendennis on his uncle by marriage, the Castlewoods on the Brookfields, and Colonel Newcome on his stepfather. He inevitably made something more of them than exemplars of a scrupulous creative objectivity. Granted! But to convince us that he is thereby the profounder realist, that his sentimentalism is less objectionable because it is three-dimensional, requires more discussion of the aesthetics of fiction, of such concepts as detachment, empathy, sympathy, inconsistency, complexity, and the like, than Professor Ray can permit himself here. His frequent delightful citations of the theoretical brilliancies of others, from Henry James to E. K. Brown, suggest that he is amply prepared to do these matters justice on a later occasion.

JOE LEE DAVIS

MIDDLE-EASTERN NOTES

CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by Hedley V. Cooke (Harper; $4).

In this volume, Dr. Cooke has provided a badly needed series of background studies for each nation of the Middle East. Dealing with each country separately, he has commenced his study with the dissolution of the Turkish sanjaks and the creation of the British and French mandates over the former colonies of the Ottoman Empire.

From these once-Turkish conquests, the mandates of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq (Mesopotamia) were devised. The latter establishment of Israel in Palestine comes in for a brief background discussion of Zionism as a prelude to a rather sketchy survey of present conditions.

In the cases of the other states, Dr. Cooke is considerably more painstaking and he provides a wide range of information concerning each. Unfortunately, his personal experience in the Middle East is well in the past, and much has happened since in those areas which invalidates a good deal of the implications of his statistical tables. In fact, since his manuscript was turned over to Harper, three kings—Abdullah, Farouk and Talal—have been shot out from under him, and Syria now looms large in a world where, a year ago, she was weak.

This, however, is not the fault of Dr. Cooke. The Arab world is a fluid world, especially in these days, and the basic worth of *Challenge and Response in the Middle East* should make it invaluable.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF IRAQ, by several hands (Johns Hopkins Press; $5).

Since Hulaku Khan destroyed the canals and dykes of the Caliphate of Bagdad in the year 1258, nothing much has been done in four centuries to restore the vast irrigation system of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, for the Turks never troubled themselves with the problem in their four centuries of misrule, and the British lacked the time during their twelve years of mandate.

Two years ago, the Government of Iraq invited the International Bank to send a mission to that country in order to investigate the basic economy of the nation and make recommendations. Accordingly, a mission under the leadership of Eugene R. Black, comprising experts in 14 different categories, ranging from flood control to animal husbandry, were sent to Iraq, arriving there on February 25, 1951. After fifteen months, their task was completed and they returned to the United States where this report was published.

It is not intended for the general public, but for students and those interested in the problems of Iraq or of other countries where similar dilemmas may exist. Category by category, the difficulties in the way of reconstruction and stabilization are dealt with in monographs and tables of statistical information.

LAWRENCE GRISWOLD

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